

[78 cont.]

412 kneeling woman exerts on them is accompanied by gentle rocking, which facilitates the grinding.

773 [79] The Uro have no combustible material other than dried
[79] animal excrement and tola branches, which they go far to seek.
[79] These things are precious, and the Uro, like the Chipaya and the
Aymara, are sparing in their use.

231 Near the huts a type of earth niche is sometimes erected which is rather similar to the huts around the village of Chipaya; these are pigstys.

226 Fishing. The Uro, in our age as in pre-Columbian times,
[226] draw their main subsistence from the lake. They are excellent
[226] fishers. The fish they catch is partly consumed by themselves and
[226] partly sold to the Aymara and to the half-breeds of the capital.
I did not have the opportunity to be present on a real fishing expedition, only at several demonstrations made at my request. They first taught me the way in which they use the landing net shown in Fig. 23, 1 /see p. 9/. The wooden frame which holds the stretched-out net is fastened to the end of a pole. The Indian plunges this rectangular pocket into the water and remains standing or seated on his balia until he sees an interesting prey. He begins by lifting his net delicately, then pulls it out of the water with a sudden motion.

227 There is another type of landing net which is much larger. It is composed of a circle from which wooden sticks joined at one end go out. This skeleton, conical in form, is covered with a net. Another net, as large as a hand, is stretched across the opening to make the escape of the fish even more difficult. This apparatus is often of considerable dimensions; some are more than three meters in diameter. They are always equipped with a handle by which they are held in the water and lifted up as soon as the fish have ventured in (Pl. III, 8 /see p. 22/).

The Uro Indian also possess bottom nets, which I regret not having seen employed. I have, however, acquired a perforated stone (Fig. 24, 2 /see p. 10/) which corresponds to our wrights or ballast.

(83 cont.)

231 Animal raising. They raise guinea pigs in their huts, which renders habitation there even more disagreeable. They have several flocks of sheep, pigs, and cows; those of the latter along the shores of the Desaguadero have become amphibious. They spend the entire day in the water and graze on water plants. From afar one would take them for buffalo in some Italian swamp.

252 Cooking. The diet of the Uto is that of all the Indians of the Altiplano: potatoes cooked in water, chufas (potato tubers), boiled or roasted meat, maize, bread beans, quinoa, cañazo, etc. The Uto add to this a dish of their own creation: the juicy pulp of the tonca. The edible part of this plant is the base of the stalk. It does not need to be prepared in any way.

252 [178] The Uto have preserved a method of cooking which is very old and whose distribution in South America, consequently unusual, corresponds perhaps to a very archaic grade of civilization: this is the subterranean oven, or Polynesian oven. "These ovens, which the Uto call uqaqa, consist of a hole dug in the earth whose depth, equal to the diameter, is about 60 centimeters. The rounded edge put out at the level of the ground, and the entire interior is plastered with clay. The Uto light a fire inside and put in stones which are more or less flat. When the rocks are incandescent they are withdrawn, with the exception of those at the bottom. On top of them is laid a bed of fish, on which is placed a second bed of stones, then a second bed of fish, and so on until the oven is full. It is then closed with rocks which are covered with rushes. The fish thus cooks by steaming" (Pavonius).

251 They preserve fish by drying it on mats after having desalinated it. They do the same with the birds, whose flesh is cut up and exposed to the rays of the sun.

223 They make a beer called apwinkama from cañazo seeds (Pavonius).

304 Manufacture of bakers. The most important industrial activity of the Uto is the manufacture of cakes of tonca, or bakers, to be provided with which particularly all the shore-dwellers on the Titicaca come to them. As these small cakes decompose rapidly,

● 202, 273, 276

[For additional, extended information about the consumption and other use of food, alcoholic beverages, narcotics and stimulants associated with ritual or organized religious ceremonies, see category 116, pp. 31-119.]

✓

Carangas-
Chipaya

/362 cont./

repeated immediately in echo. It seemed to me that this cry was raised each time that the allerez began to drink or refilled his drinking cups. More direct compliments were frequently addressed to the allerez, who was treated as in the previous festival.

Several times the allerez' wife, displaying as much conviction as enthusiasm, threw out handfuls of white maize or peas over which the audience fought.

Practically the whole afternoon passed in this way beneath a leaden sky. When the prayer and wishes ceased to be heard, a mournful silence momentarily reigned, uninterrupted by any particular conversation. Although most of them were drunk, the Indians remained as apathetic and indifferent as usual.

Toward five o'clock the meal for which all had been patiently waiting was served. Two blankets were spread out in front of the allerez, and the cooks, led by the Officiant and his helper, placed the food on them. Boiled barley brought in bowls was poured out in ribbons forming a large oval cut again lengthwise by several parallel lines. At this point several guests got up to add either culo (frozen potatoes) or roasted maize which was scattered between the ribbons of barley. The boiled meat brought in bowls was arranged magisterially on the ribbon of barley at regular intervals and in equal amounts. But part of the meat was directly distributed by the Officiant and the cooks, who first offered the llama, then the pork, and last the mutton. At the same time bowls of stinking bouillon were passed from hand to hand and everyone took several gulps.

Before closing the samiri's cellar, the Officiant recited a prayer that was listened to by all with bared heads. This prayer is addressed to the mal'ku and the samiri. The cellar was then shut and hidden under a yareta.

At the moment of departure the Officiant turned once more to the samiri and directed several words of farewell which put an end to the ceremony.

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Chijaya

/362 cont./

tsaiki	suma	i-puika	suma	sumphita	tsaiki
Now	well	that	well	acquired	now

tsaiki	suma	tsaiki-ta-ye.
you have received	well	you have received.

/363/ "Now you have been well that is, we have acquired ourselves well toward you. Now you have received offerings, you have received well of them."

Little by little the group dispersed. Each, before going away, approached the side of the cellar, knelt, and said a short prayer, at the end of which he touched the ground with his hand, which he brought to his lips. The allures' wife emphasized the gesture by kissing the ground. I heard them murmur while getting up, "Versha-mai'ku liama" — "Holy Virgin, with thy permission." Some couples, before leaving the area, went to salute the allures and his wife in the customary fashion.

The latter, moreover, did not seem to consider the ceremony ended, and it was with flags flying, dancing and drinking, that the most enthusiastic returned, forming a procession which disappeared toward the "water house."

[12] On the same day the aya tsapita held a similar festival on its territory.

Second day (January 21). On the preceding day only a part of the meat of the sacrificed victims had been eaten on the spot. The rest was served in the course of a feast which the allures offered to the members of his aya the day after the festival. The ceremony which I will describe took place at Tasato.

The allures' two white banners were placed before the door of his hut toward noon. The members of the aya had gathered near the threshold, men on one side and women on the other, waiting for the food (Pl. XII, 8 /see p. 125/). It was served to them as on the day before, on bladders spread on the ground.

The menu was, moreover, substantially the same, but completed

Chapala

[5474-1935]

the time with two sheep, one of gamos and the other of Fullo and gamos water. They were distributed in small individual bowls which, as soon as they were filled by the officers of the allong and several other women, were carried to the guests by a group of little boys. Inside the hut the allong was standing behind a table on which the head of the sacrificed animal and the gamos which had been used the day before were placed. As usual, the allong's wife was in her place, to the left of her husband. The most respected guests were seated inside the hut.

The meal did not last long. When the last guests were at the point of leaving, the flag was rolled up and carried away by a individual, undoubtedly the person who the day before had been proclaimed kaplan, i.e., allong of the next festival.

Several hours later a large group formed again in the allong's hut, this time occupied in drinking according to the usual ritual. Two old men arrived proprio to the mal'os without proprio, even while drinking. At a given moment they knelt in the middle of the hut, their bodies turned toward the east, and, in the position, addressed a long invocation to them, which they completed by kissing the ground.

<u>mal'os-mal'os</u>	<u>mal'os-mal'os</u>	<u>mal'os-mal'os</u>	<u>mal'os-mal'os</u>
<u>mal'os-mal'os</u>	<u>mal'os-mal'os</u>	<u>mal'os-mal'os</u>	<u>mal'os-mal'os</u>

<u>mal'os-mal'os</u>	<u>mal'os-mal'os</u>	<u>mal'os-mal'os</u>	<u>mal'os-mal'os</u>
<u>mal'os-mal'os</u>	<u>mal'os-mal'os</u>	<u>mal'os-mal'os</u>	<u>mal'os-mal'os</u>

1. During the feast of the mal'os-mal'os, the allong threw beer, pork, and dried fruit to the wind.

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Chipaya

[177] cont. f

masked by the alcohol, some Indians danced discreetly across the village street. These were the only manifestations which I observed during this festival.

Pagan-Christian Practices to Obtain Rain.

At the end of January, as the sky remained implacably blue, the Chipaya feared a drought and the destruction of their pastures. After general deliberation they decided to have recourse to public prayers. These were made by all the children, who were obliged to fast during the morning and were then sent in a procession to the church to [178] circle the cross facing the court in front on their knees. The same ceremony took place before the small chapel, where steps the children ascended on their knees. A sheep was sacrificed on this occasion, and the four corners of the cross's stand were sprinkled with its blood. The meat [of the sheep] was consumed solely by the children.

Carnival Festival.

Carnival for the Chipaya Indian is the festival par excellence because which all the others are only pious duties. At Carnival [179] Figure 36 appears here [179] although he observes some rites his aim above all is to drink and dance until he falls down dead drunk. If a few bloody scuffles with the people of the other ayos are added to these amusements, his happiness is complete.

Carnival is also the only haven of activity for him, the only moment of the year in which his mind can rest with complacency and of which he thinks in terms of its wisdom and unconcern for the future. The prospect of being present at a festival which had been so much awaited was almost powerful enough to keep me in Chipaya behind the time I had set. I had, however, every reason to feel deceived, and the Chipaya themselves showed me their disappointment in a not very successful carnival. Good intentions were not lacking but the alcohol, the precious alcohol, and the no less precious coca. The cross which elsewhere was [180] turning up Latin American presidents was depriving the Chipaya of their exultation for the export of their cheeses and condemning them to celebrate Carnival by diluting their alcohol with water.

(But continues on p. 119)

Carangas-
Chipaya1932 cont. /

These civilities were of the usual type, i.e., they were carried out by bending the knee before the person honored and simulating an embrace.

Two dishes of meat were then carried in, signaling the beginning of the feast which the patient offered his doctor and his relatives, doubtless to repay them for their trouble.

The magician, who up to now had preserved a serious and imperturbable expression, appeared afterward in a more cheerful mood and with a smile on his lips accepted the cups of alcohol and the dishes which his client, full of gratitude, offered him.

However great the respect of the sick man for his healer was and the impression caused by the ceremony, the patient did not consider it superfluous to question me on his case and took the laxative I administered to him with gratitude. He had great need of it, all the more so since, to celebrate his return to health and the beneficent treatment of which he had been the subject, he ingurgitated a remarkable portion of the sacrificed sheep and washed down this feast with impressive bumpers of alcohol. I still do not know how this unfortunate man was able to endure these new excesses. He got well nevertheless, and this complicated ceremony seems at least to have had the positive result of actually transforming his disposition. Up to this point I had had an enemy in him who had picked quarrels with me on every occasion; each time that I met him after this, he astonished me by his friendliness and courtesy.

I only wish that this good disposition had lasted as long as the memory of his experience.

Funeral rites.

In the course of the weeks spent in Chipaya only one death occurred in the village, that of a woman who had committed suicide for obscure reasons, probably out of resentment against her husband. Arriving at the spot shortly after the event, I did not notice any behavior among those present which could be interpreted as ritual.

Carangas -
Chipaya

/160 cont. /

233 Those who prefer to reside in the village go to them² at more or less close intervals to take a look at their sheep and pigs or to make their [89] cheeses. The watch over the flocks is usually entrusted to the children from the age of seven or eight. Their parents shift on them [84] the most engrossing work and from this obtain more leisure — from whence comes the ardent desire which all show to have numerous progeny.

[42] Livestock is individual property. Each Indian has about 20 [33] sheep (uša), an indefinite number of pigs (kuči), and several llamas (xwala). Each family recognizes its animals by a special mark cut in the ear.

[61] Each Indian has the right to let his flocks graze freely on /161/ the pastures belonging to his saya (moiety). No markers mark the boundary, but the Indians know it perfectly and every animal which crosses it is instantaneously slaughtered and eaten by the members of the other saya. In such a case no claim is allowed.

231 The shepherds have dogs /paku/, middling in size, with [33] rather long hair and sharp teeth, to guard the flocks. These animals, which are very attached to their masters, can be formidable. I have seen one pursue a llama and kill it in the wink of an eye without its astounded owner having time to intervene.

236 Sheep shearing (čipla) takes place at the same time for the [33] whole tribe. The Indians use blades cut out of some old tin can for [41] this operation. When they have finished a festival is organized and all return to the village, dancing and singing and quite tipsy.

233 Like all pastoral people the Čipaya are loath to consume the [26] meat of their livestock. They consent to this sacrifice only on the occasion of a public or private festival when they may taste the meat of the animals ritually slaughtered. Only the rich can from time to time allow themselves the luxury of killing a beast of their [23] flock. Even in this case the slaughter of a sheep or pig is accompanied by a certain religious ceremony.

^ [i.e., to their "water houses" or estancias -- Analyst]

/161 cont./

233 The llamas and alpacas usually gather beyond the zone scoured by the herds of sheep, out where the ever poorer pastures are gradually lost in the arid puna (Fl. II. A /see p. 211/). The young llamas are the object of maternal care: they are placed under blankets if a cold night is expected and if necessary are fed milk with a funnel. One of my Indian friends stayed a whole day watching a llama whose young did not want to nurse.

231 It is rather strange that the Chipaya do not raise guinea pigs, as practically all the Indians of the Sierra do. It is true that the Aymara of Carangas no longer have any, for reasons which I do not know. The number of hens in Chipaya is not as great as in most of the villages of the puna. I do not know what they do with them because I never noticed them eating the eggs or the meat. If some few cats are added one will have the complete list of the domestic animals that the Chipaya have.

241 Agriculture. To the meager income which their flocks bring [235] them the Chipaya add a very limited and primitive agriculture. They cultivate hardly anything but quinoa (*Chenopodium quinoa*) (in Uru Chipaya: *kxula*) and cañahua (*Chenopodium cañahua*).

The cultivated plots (*skx̄s̄l̄s̄*), which are common to the whole tribe and not only to each of the *saya*, are situated to the southeast of the village /162/ and to the east of the flooded region called the lakes. Their area is about 300 meters wide and one kilometer long. This very sandy land, perfectly flat and not very wet, is divided across its width into a succession of parallel strips marked out by three series of raised clods of earth serving as boundaries. Each of these strips, which are oriented east-west, is about ten meters wide and 300 meters long.

[233] Each year on Saint Andrew's Day (November 30), these plots are divided among the families, one strip to a family, by the care and under the responsibility of the *alcaldes*. If what they say is accurate, the Chipaya practice crop rotation.

[242] The agricultural methods are most primitive. To till the soil the Indians formerly used small hoes with bent handles, a specimen

/162 cont./

439 neighboring Aymara villages to dispose of their small cheeses directly and specially to sell pig fat /167/ /Figure 2 appears here/ /164/ which, after cheese, is their most important export. They undoubtedly trade wool, although I was not able to obtain any precise information on this matter. I only ascertained that pieces of cloth started in a neighboring village were given to Chipaya women to be finished. Formerly some Chipaya would go to hire themselves out as workers in the "salitrera," (exploitation of nitrate) of Tarapacá. [199] They returned with some knowledge of Spanish and new tastes.

This stay away from home had the result above all of opening their eyes to their poor condition and to make them discontented. Since the nitrate beds have been abandoned, nothing remains to draw the Chipaya outside their "bare plain."

433 The crisis of overproduction which rages over the whole world upset the economic life of the Chipaya. The low quotations for tin on the Stock Exchange, or the New York exchange, led to the closing of the mines, the departure of the laborers, and the sale of cheese at a loss. The Aymara no longer come to Chipaya to stock up on cheeses, and the latter accumulate in the round huts and there is no alcohol or coca for festivals. By virtue of the economic cohesion of all humanity the Chipaya themselves are also overproducing, and their present distress is the sister of the one which constricts the hearts of the great proprietors of wheat fields.

648 These particulars show us that in spite of their apparent isolation, these Indians maintain constant relations with the outside world, and that the fossilization of this tribe is not as total as one might conclude from their material culture.

224 Hunting. Hunting and fishing play only an insignificant role in the life of the Chipaya. In all, for game they have a few herds of vicuña which make their appearance in the neighborhood of the village, water birds which abound in the numerous lagoons which cut their pastures, and toxo, a kind of small rodent a little larger than a rat. Posnansky (1) asserts that the latter constitutes the principal food of the Chipaya.

[Text continues on p. 151]

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Chipaya
Aymara SFS

/164 cont. /

1. Poinarsky (Ing. Arthur),
Los Chipayas de Carangas
/The Chipaya of Carangas/.
La Paz, Bolivia, 1918, p. 6;
La lengua "Chipaya" (Carangas,
Bolivia) /The "Chipaya" language
(Carangas, Bolivia)/. La Paz,
1915, p. 2; "Nuevas investigaciones
en Carangas (Bolivia) /New Investi-
gations in Carangas (Bolivia)/."
Congrès international des Américanistes.
Record of the XXI Session, Part II, held
at Göteborg in 1924. Göteborg, 1925,
p. 91.

the principal food of the Chipaya. In reality, during my entire stay I never saw a Chipaya catch one, and when I asked them to get a few specimens for me, they demanded an exorbitant price from me, claiming the difficulty of this hunt. Toxo are rare in the territory properly called Chipaya; they are found only at a certain distance from the grassy zone behind the dunes. It is there that the Aymara come /165/ to capture them. Their method, as far as I can understand it from the explanations which have been given to me, is the following: they try to dislodge the toxó from the underground corridors where it stays by opening them with a blow from a shovel; then when it comes out they pursue it and beat it to death. In the plains undermined by the toxó, one can see the earth completely worked over by the hammers.

The Chipaya easily get hold of vicuñas by setting their dogs, swift and bloodthirsty beasts, on them. They themselves succeed in knocking down these animals with holas, or throwing stones. This same weapon permits them to bring down water birds.

The fish to be found in the small ponds of the Chipaya plain are too miniscule for the word fishing to be used in connection with them. It is more as a pastime than for food that the Chipaya amuse
[i.e., The Toxo -- Analyst]

4:Vellard--2 D.E-4.5 (no date) 1959-1960 SF24 Uru SF24
[16th Century]

/30 cont./

101 between ou and o /French sounds/; or else urito (ourito), an affectionate diminutive, or chana wawa, "younger children." But at the same time they give them the contemptuous name of hoslé or huslé, "bastard," without father or master," or on the other hand the very respectful one of haké waka, "sacred men."

The fishermen of Lake Titicaca are called by the other natives uru, uro, kotá-haké ("men of the Lake"), uma-hake ("water men"), and challia-ura ("fishermen") in Aymara; laguneros /"lake men", in Spanish; uru, uru-waka ("Uru men"), cocha kuna ("men of the Lake"), kocho-la ("those who go on the lake"), in Quechua.

Documents of the Spanish Colonizers

101 Morua (Fr. Martin de)

195

... but since the peoples of Peru are many, very different in appearance /forma/ and language, according to the bigness of the region and province, they did not all live in the same manner nor did they have the same customs, but in some parts some are very slow and dull, as in Collao and other areas;

[131]

[162]

because some lived close to the great lake of Titicaca and subsisted on the totora and fish that were found in the lake, and these were called Uros, and their descendants exist today, and of the others, Collas and Puquinas, some of them or generally most raise livestock, and some live near the said lake, intermixed with the said Uros; and these eat raw fish, which they catch with rafts made of totoras; and they wore clothes made of common reed-grass, which they reaped and cut on the lake shore and wove like mats, and with it they made a sort of jacket which they were accustomed to wear;

195

[162]

[501]

[291]

[294]

[241]

[342]

[122]

and they do not sow anything, nor do they trouble to make houses, but they merely subsist on plants, although there also exists among them a seed similar to milo, which grows on

[16th Century]

/30 cont. /

[175] its own, without cultivation, and which they call quinua
[229] /quinua/ or canagua; all of these Indians are fond of and eat the
[262] leaf of same.... /Translated from the Spanish. /

(Historia del origen y genealogía real de los Reyes Incas del Perú /History of the Origin and Royal Genealogy of the Inca Kings of Peru/, 1590, Constantino Bayle edition, Madrid, 1940, p. 214.)

[248] /31/... The Uros were Indians that the Inca sent for when
[202] the army was short, and they were compelled to follow the
[106] flags, not knowing even how to hold a bow; they went into battle almost without weapons and they and some of the Puquinas were killed like flies; because they had no military training, they let themselves be killed like animals. /Translated from the Spanish. /

(Ibidem, p. 184.)

Garcilaso de la Vega

[181] ...and thus the Puquina, Colla, Uru, and Yunca Indians, and other nations that are crude and dull, and owing to their crudeness, even speak their own languages poorly.... /Translated from the Spanish. /

(Primera parte de los Comentarios Reales /First part of the Royal Commentaries/..., VII. Chap. 4.)

Oliva (Rev. Father Anello)

[181] ... (Sinchí Roca) ordered that... useless people, as the
[248] Uros were, who are ignorant and useless, should each one of
[651] them gather one reed tube full of lice each month, so that no one should be idle.... /Translated from the Spanish. /

(Historia del Reino y Provincias del Perú, de sus Incas Reyes /History of the Kingdom and Provinces of Peru, of its Inca Kings/..., 1598. 1895 edition, Lima.)

Ramírez (Baltasar)

[131] The Uro Indians are a people who live on lakes, such as the lake of Chuquito and that of Paria, and in other parts.

[16th Century]

/31 cont./

[195] They build their houses on the water on rafts of hay or rushes,
[149] which in Peru are called totora and in New Spain tule...."

... They subsist on the fish of the lakes, which is abundant.

[262] although not very good.... They dress badly and eat, aside

[181] from fish, what they can steal from their neighbors on land;

they are crude and coarse and almost bestial people. They

[49] were not accustomed to pay tribute or service; and on a general

[85] visit that Don Francisco de Toledo made he had them entered

in a tax register and settled off the water, and thus they now

pay tribute and service and live under the Church and in some

order..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Descripción del Reyno del Perú /Description of the Kingdom of Peru/...., 1597. Quoted by Victor M. Maurtua:

Juicio de límites entre el Perú y Bolivia /Arbitration of boundaries between Peru and Bolivia/. Barcelona, 1906. I. 295-296.)

/32/ Herrera (Antonio de)

[224] ...in (this lake of Titicaca) there grow large quantities of a reed which they call totora, which is fodder for horses and pigs, and which the Uro Indians use to make houses and boats

and for food, and whatever else they need. These Uros are so

[101] wild, that when asked who they were, they replied that they

were not men, but Uros, as though they were another species

of animals..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y /General History of the Deeds of the Castilians in the Islands and/...., Madrid, 1601-1615, III. 5th decade, p. 92.)

Acosta (Father José de)

[133] Into this lake (Titicaca) flow ten voluminous rivers, it has only one outlet and not a very large one, although it is said to be extremely deep; over which it is not possible to build a bridge, owing to the depth and breadth of the water, nor to cross over in a boat, owing to the fierceness of the current, according to what they say.

[16th Century]

/33 cont. /

195 Neighboring Pueblos, and he removed and resettled them:
 64 The damage they caused in the places where they were /re-
 92 settled/ was such, since they stole all they could, that the
 97 inhabitants, unable to deal with it, asked Castileja to rid
 them of these people, because they robbed them, ate their
 livestock, and were not useful in any way whatsoever; the
 Captain advised the Lica of this and he was ordered to return
 them to the Lake from which he had removed them, and to
 threaten them with the death penalty if they were to leave it;
 [90] these people of whom I speak are called Uros, the lake where
 [93] they were found is that of Paria where they are now plying their
 old trade, which is to steal and to eat; some have set up small
 [94] villages, and they go out to steal, and it is astonishing what
 is said of these Indians, that they steal from the herders who
 live there a haul of pigs and eat it in one night, which if so
 many people did not attest to it would not be believable; I
 have ascertained that three Indians stole 12 sheep from the
 area and ate them in two days without leaving anything usable;
 they are infidels in addition. Your Excellency would perform
 a great service to Our Lord by removing them from there so
 [95] that they and their descendants might become Christian, and
 giving them lodgings of some sort because their foul dwellings
 defy description. /Translated from the Spanish. /

(Document contributed by Dr. Raul Porras Barrenechea.)

195 Visita de los Indios de la Provincia de Chuquito que estan en
 cabeza de S. M. Lima, 1568. /Visit of the Indians of the
 Province of Chuquito Who Are on the Register of H. M. Lima,
 1568/.

[14] This document from the General Archives of the Indies in
 Seville (A.G.I.), Justicia section, File No. 479, was analyzed
 by Marie Helmer in these Travaux, III, pp. 115-150, 1951.

[19th Century]

[19] 1st cont./ There is another Pueblo four leagues east-west of Challaquito called Tulean, whose Indians are resplendent, skillful, courteous.... these Indians came from other Provinces and the Incas settled them there, to become masters of those Incas, but he could not (no neither could the religious) get used to whiten as Ethiopians they are somewhat less crude, but they are still without breeding....

[19] ...How many times did our religious, at the peril of their lives (jumping out to the depth of the water but to the thickness of the tundra) go to save Indians of over 30 and 40 years of age who were unbaptized and who had never come to a town....

[19] Their idolatries are to worship the sun and this last.... They are inclined to meat... they are wolves because they will eat a raw sheep and they wear the nail of the right thumb so long and so sharp [17] that they can tear it up without need of a knife.... for years I heard it said in that Province, like a refrain "From the Uru Indian, no man is safe...." /Translated from the Spanish./

(Ibid., I, 450-451.)

[101] In the second volume La Calancha mentions the Uros of Titicaca under the name of Ochozuma. These Indians were centered in the tundra beds of the Desaguadero /outlet/ and on the small island of Similike.

[193] ...They are lords of this tundra bed, they have it all defiled, and they have made passageways, and hidden paths throughout, and they set deadly ambushes for those who, unaware of the hidden spot, dare to enter the tundra bed, as we shall see later. These Ochozuma Indians, in the safety of this cover, have dared in former years to commit great murders, robbing, laying waste neighboring pueblos and ranches, stealing livestock, clothing, and whatever else they could lay their hands on. These last few months their audacity has been great, they made forays openly and in the light of day, into the pueblo of Guasqui, seat of the corregidor of the Pacages, so that the region was terrified, and the royal road of these realms was unsafe.... /Translated from the Spanish./

One, who, at best, are an inhospitable, apathetic, and hate-filled group (57) which has been condemned and harassed throughout its history.

The culture of the *Urus* is now largely like that of the Aymara, with whom they have recently extensively intermarried, but it preserves several interesting archaic features of altiplano culture.

CULTURE

SUBSTANCE ACTIVITY

Fishing.—The Indians depend primarily on fishing (pl. 115, top), 433
 especially on hunting, in the waters and totora reed swamps of Lake
 Titicaca and the Rio Desaguadero. The dry land they own is so
 restricted that they have little agriculture, although they have some (311)
 domestic animals.

Fishing by casting a V-shaped weir made of bamboo, with a runner driven into the center of the weir, and the ends of the weir tied to a post. The *Uru* also use three- and eight-pointed weirs and arrow. They have several kinds of nets. A net set to a frame are handled by one fisherman; the conical frame, the partially closed base of which is a net. Another framed net is rectangular, a sweep net. Bottom and dragnets also exist; these are weighted with stones at the bottom, and require a number of persons to drag them. Small fish, salted and dried, are carried on journeys. Larger varieties are salted, dried, smoked, and stretched out between stones in a slow-dried, they are preserved for periods of scarcity.

Hunting.—Hunting
marshes abound in
diving birds, and gulls
its rank only fish. A
hunted. Hunting me-
dogs, which are very
used. They also use
balls and a small, oval
stones has been re-
himself in a bunch of
still stupefied by the
feet, quickly kills the
communal hunts, nets
slightly curved lines or
drive and frighten the
them with clubs. The
dry strips of their fish
is next in importance to fishing. The river
water hens, ducks, geese, loons, herons, various
of which only the loon is not eaten, because of
kind of red duck (pana-soluna) is most frequently
thods are varied. The Urus are skillful with
en and braided of varicolored llama and sheep
bolas, which have two large wooden floats for
oved, ovoid stone for a handgrip. One use of
ported. Early in the morning a man conceals
reeds, slowly approaches the birds which are
cold of the night, then, grabbing them by the
n by biting the head or twisting the neck. In
sometimes hundreds of meters long, are set in
reed supports. Hunters in balsas make a noisy
birds into the almost invisible nets and dispatch
Urus also eat the eggs of aquatic birds, and sun-
to make a kind of charqui.

224 They do little hunting of land animals, but they may lease the head male of a herd of vicuñas which has been driven from the heights by the cold of winter, then club the remainder of the herd.

233 Herding.—The Uru have a few livestock—sheep, cows, and occasional llamas—but these are restricted in number by the scant pasture on the mainland. The cattle are usually half-wild and forage in the

231 swamps, eating the succulent reed stalks and roots. The Uru have dogs, guinea pigs, chickens, and pigs; the last are kept in mud sties or allowed to wander through the village.

241 Farming.—Maize will not grow in this infertile and cold region, which is more than 12,000 feet (3,600 m.) above sea level; but a few bitter potatoes and some quinoa are cultivated.

252 Food preparation.—The few potatoes cultivated are frozen and dried to make chuñu. Women grind quinoa with a long, flat, stone muller on a stone metate which slants outward from their laps, then toast it to make a nourishing powder (pitu). The succulent white root of the totora reed is eaten raw. Shrimplike crustaceans from the river are toasted.

● [262]

293 Beer is made of quinoa and, when they can get it, of maize, which they chew into chicha.

296 Like all the altiplano peoples, the Uru chew coca.

197

HOUSES

342 Most Uru houses have an oval ground plan, but some are rectangular. The walls are built of rectangular turf blocks laid in horizontal courses, much as the ancient chullpas, or grave-houses, the outer wall often plastered with adobe. The entrance always faces east and is closed at night by a thick door made of bunches of totora reeds placed vertically and joined together at intervals by double horizontal cords in twined technique. The roof framework is of sticks or of reed bundles; the main ridge of the roof arches east and west, with stick or reed-bundle purlins resting on this ridge and the side walls. This framework is covered with reed mats (pl. 113, top, left)—single totora stalks twined at intervals with grass cord. Grass ropes are laid over

[354] the mats and tied to pegs in the outside wall. The fire in the mud stove to the right inside the door speedily coats the roof with soot and makes it waterproof. Greasebrush (tola), chunks of a woody semi-

[392] subterranean plant (yarata), and llama dung—in the absence of wood in this treeless region—serve as fuel. Some smaller Uru shelters have a corbeled turf dome instead of a frame with mat thatching. The

[184] Sojopaca Uru build temporary shelters of mud, "like beavers," similar to the domed houses of the islet of Simillaque. On the Isle of Panza there are round, stone-roofed houses.

601 the Aymara, the Uru distinguish siblings terminologically according
 711 to age. LINE

585 Marriage is now solemnized, if at all, with a Catholic ritual led by
 a priest who yearly visits the village. There is a tradition that formerly
 couples were married while standing back to back in the water

591 of the lake. Postmarital residence is patrilocal. Although Fyfe (1901)
 states that the Uru were formerly endogamous, a shortage of women
 598 during recent years has led men to take Aymara wives.

602 If the Uru ever had a tribal chieftain, he has long since been for-
 gotten. Today, they have the typical altiplano native hilekata, or
 alcalde, appointed or elected yearly. Squabbles with Aymara neigh-
 608 bors are led by this official.

RELIGION

791 The Uru worship Pachamama, the earth goddess, and perhaps also
 794 a place-deity of the swamp, although they are nominally Catholic
 1001 and have a small mud church in their village. Like the Aymara, they
 1008 believe in dream interpretation, in meteorological signs, and in taking
 1012 omens. Their sacrifices of alcohol, coca leaves, and animals to their
 1015 deities are very like those of the Aymara. Bertoni (1870 b), how-
 1018 ever, lists several ancient Uru dances which have disappeared since
 1021 the 17th century: the buchhu or aña quirikha, and the chiy-chiy,
 in which bags are held in the hand.

796 The main Uru fiesta is at the vernal equinox, but has been changed
 from the 23d to the 16th of September to coincide with the Christian
 feast of the Exaltation. On this date, they blow panpipes (sikul),
 1028 sing and dance the minule, and perform the ancient rite of blood-
 1031 sacrifice (wilenchu) by slaughtering a llama and smearing the blood
 1034 near the entrance of each hut. Most of the Uru beliefs and cere-
 1037 monies are clearly from the Aymara.

538 Most Uru-Chipeys folklore is similarly of the common Aymara
 1041 stock of animal tricksters.

THE CHIPEYA

184 The Chiyeys of Carangas (Bolivia) are linguistically identical with
 1044 the Uru of the Rio Desaguadero but differ somewhat from them in
 culture, though retaining in common certain ancient features. Where-
 1047 as the Uru are chiefly a fishing and hunting people, the Chiyeys are
 1050 chiefly pastoral and practice a little agriculture.

CULTURE

SUBSTANCE ACTIVITIES

231 The Chiyeys, like many pastoral peoples, dislike to kill their animals,
 1053 and they eat llama flesh only when these are ritually slaughtered at
 public fiestas or important private rites. Curiously, the Chiyeys do

Chipaya

not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the Chipaya tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 25). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The Chipaya eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

RELIGION AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1830 there were some 200 Chipaya in Carangas, which was physically divided into noncontiguous sections, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The sections form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The Chipaya kinship system, like that of the Uru, is much influenced by the Aymara. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All Chipaya, without exception, are bilingual and speak Aymara fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak Uru only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely Aymaraized.

RELIGION

The religion of the Chipaya does not differ from that of the Aymara of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the Chipaya than in communities more open to outside influence.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main Chipaya deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (mallku) with little individuality (Chunkirini-mallku, Kemperani-mallku, Estewan-mallku), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Llanca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-mallku). The gamiri are sacred stone fetiches on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (patio-mallku), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public rites.—The most important Chipaya deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the mallku and saints, but is associated with every Chipaya ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

776 paper. These fetters are burned in her house, and whenever an Indian drinks he makes a libation for her. At the end of a feast, the Indians kiss the earth to show their devotion to her.

778 The mañás, used in important, are represented by whitewashed stones of and 2 to 45 feet (1 to 1.30 m.) tall, set on low platforms in isolated and secret spots about 15 miles from the village. Each mañá has its own mañá which are worshipped on fixed dates.

The mañá consist of enormous stones of irregular shape which are kept in a stone-lined pit in the desert, hidden under a yucca plant.

The cult of the mañás and that of the mañá follow the same pattern.

779 Every feast is sponsored by an *afilise* and his wife, who are the initiators of ceremony. The high point is the sacrifice of the three animals on which the Chiriqui depend for their subsistence: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. The officiating priest is a *petisi*—a man who knows the religious prayers and how to prepare the libations to be offered. The blood of the victims is mixed with flour made of various kinds of maize and sent to the four directions. What is left is poured on the stones or mañá stones.

780 The libations are prepared in small cups and in small bottles, which are lined up in a set order. Their formulas are complicated and include a great many magic ingredients (*chicha*, "sewage," that is, mineral products of various colors, herbs, turquoise beads, gold and silver paper, etc.). The content of each cupula is poured especially with prayers to the Saints, the mañás, and *Perkamama*. Grass balls, with plants stuck in them, and candles are buried for *Perkamama*. Khen, an enormous ruinous plant, is burned in special incense burners. Other objects such as grass bundles decorated with ceremonial clags, eggs, wreaths made of dried fruits, and bread and cheese are displayed by the *afilise* and carried during the dances. The prayers and the material symbols always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the multiplication of the herds. The prayers, though directed to pagan deities, are often strongly marked by Christian elements. The day after a feast there is always a communal meal in the village during which the sacrificed animals are consumed and prayers recited.

781 Carnival is also a very important pagan feast celebrated jointly by the two mañá. The desired fertility is symbolized by huge wreaths of fruits and cheese hung from the church's towers and by the outfit of the dancers, who carry bundles of fresh grass, strings of blown eggs, dead ducks, stuffed viruñas, and other objects. Dances to the sound of *queñas* accompany every feast.

782 Private cults.—When a house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood sprinkled against the walls and roof. On certain occasions, such as the return to the village after a long absence, a sheep is sacri-

tain; and the tower of the village Catholic church, which
is regarded as a particularly powerful fetish and is known
as *Mallin Mayor*. The other mallins are represented by
small conical and tapers scattered around the country-
side. Sacred stone fetiches or *camiri* protect the prosperity
of the village; in the homes, a stuffed wildcat or hawk
serves as a protective household spirit. When a new house
is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood is sprinkled
on the roof and walls. 776
778
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782

One of the principal fiestas comes on New Year's Eve. 796
At Carnival time, an important fertility rite is celebrated;
cherries and other foods—symbolic of the desired abun-
dance—decorate the church tower and the dancers.

The high point of the ceremonies is honor of the deities
is the sacrifice of the three main animals on which the
Chipayas depend: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. These will
be eaten at a communal feast the next day. The officiating
priest, or *curaca*, offers the blood, mixed with flour, to the
four directions, and pours it on the mallin cones and the
camiri stones. The prayers always express the longing
for fertility, for water, and for the increase of the herds. 781
783
782
783
785
Alcoholic libations are offered, and much alcohol is con-
sumed at the major festivals. The usual monotony of daily
life is forgotten. Dancing goes on far into the night, as the
slow, mournful music of the flutes and drums dispels for
a while the grim, cold silence of this empty land. 785

[P. 22-C]

There
 [194] were some withered Palm-bushey decorations made from the rushes which border the river. They were plaited and twisted and fringed and hung on rusty nails. The door stood partially open. A low white-wall surrounded the building. There were no tracks in evidence. A family of ducks had taken up their residence there. We gave them some bread and apple, and they followed us down the steep path to where the village was assembled. The camellias were ticking, and our chauffeur Carlos had been postured to stephand with a wooden clapper. Our star was continuing her role with renewed enthusiasm; leaning against the wall were two boys 11 or 12 years old, one had beautiful smooth regular features. I photographed him, but he never moved, nor seemed conscious of our presence. We left him [392] standing motionless and followed the younger one [289] down to the river where a man was plaiting rushes, preparatory to making a balia.
 [304] Some fifteen years ago the whole region suffered from a severe drought. The waterlevel of the lake descended from twelve to fifteen feet and many of the marshes dried out, and the reeds, the totoras, withered and disappeared. These totoras play an important part among the Uru as the llama among the Aymara or Quichua on the Altiplano. While the stems are used for making balias, sails and ropes, the roots or *kanowas* are the staple diet of the Uru, who also use it to brew a kind of beer, allowing the tubercles to ferment.
 [301] [304] [301] [301]
 [130] Fortunately in these last few years the climatic conditions have once more returned to normal, and with the rise of the lake the totoras have once more increased. These rafts, with their tall pointed bows, have the gracefulness of a gondola. They are composed of three cylinders, two forming the sides and one the centre. The rushes are plaited into long braids, the end being held between the man's toes. These braids are then plaited together and together again, and all these ropes are assembled, moistened and laced together. Two men work simultaneously,

of some)

THE CASE OF THE TWO DELINQUENTS

III

diast. The skin is definitely darker than that of the Aymara. Walle (page 142) (13) thought that the foreheads of the Uru were narrower than those of their neighbors, but much of this I believe may be due to the sometimes striking width at the outer corners of the jaw (see for example, Pennansky's Figure 92). The lips are moderately full, the Uru share in the ancient Amer- [201] [202] indian habit of pointing with the lips. The teeth of the fish-eating Uru are whiter and appear less carious than those of the *Ishe*-consuming Aymara (*Ishe* is a preparation of potatoes, with the nitrogenous and liquid matter fermented and frozen and dried out of it). Perhaps because they are fish- 515 men, the Uru are much cleaner than the Aymara and have no such repugnant body odor as they.

The women wash their hair in stale urine, which apparently contains a grease-cutting principle and use an Aymara-type brush-comb in caring for it. The hair, which is of course straight and jet-black, is parted in the middle and worn in two braids back of the shoulder, the ends tied to each other with vicuña- or llama-wool cords so that they do not fall forward when the woman is working or bending over. The men cut the hair very short in quasi-European fashion or cut it in an all-around bang like many of the natives of the Bolivian tropics. [302] [412] [71] [45]

The Uru are shorter even than the short-statured Aymara, so that a European of only moderate height appears to tower over them; the average cannot be much more than five feet for adult males. They do not have the grotesquely disproportionate long torso and short legs of the Aymara; indeed, in spite of their short stature, their legs appear to be well-proportioned and even relatively longer than those of *altiplano* inhabitants in general. The most striking difference from the neighboring Aymara is in the nose: the Uru nose is relatively small, and depressed at the root, while the Aymara nose is unqualifiedly enormous in all dimensions and continues the line of the forehead in many cases. [42]

The bodies of the Uru are sturdy and graceful, but not so heavily and conspicuously muscled as the Aymara; this is undoubtedly due in part to their different modes of life, on the water and on the land, respectively. The younger women are well-formed and attractive by any standards. Even in so small a group I noticed one little girl spin her distaff left-handedly. The Uru appear to be healthier than the Aymara, possibly because of a more varied diet, but they have a skin disease which they call *tutuin*. No adequate osteometry or craniometry has ever been done for this group. [146] [147] [41]

Clothing. Anciently, it is said,¹⁷ the Uru "vivian desnudos del todo," but this unsupported statement is flatly incredible to anyone who knows the [29] [30]

¹⁷ In Neveu-Lemaire, *Les Lacs*, p. LXI.

342 Another house type, beyond the rectangular-thatched and round-matted forms, is that to be found in several examples on the plain just to the north of Ancoacui. These have a rectangular ground-plan, and instead of being thatched with grass or *tolora*-mats, have a pyramidal "dome" corbelled of the same turfs that the walls are made. One of these photographed was on a slight artificial elevation, and had a shallow "moat" around it, possibly to provide dryness and drainage during the long rainy season. Another has two doors, both east and south, suggesting that shepherds might watch their llamas from these tiny huts, which are too small for family habitation; one of them has a chimney-hole in the roof.

Posnansky¹⁹ says the Uru of Sojopaca built temporary shelters, apparently of mud, "like beavers," and figures a carefully domed *putuku* on the islet of Simillaque, as well as a round, stone-roofed house on the Isle of Panza. Uru round houses at Ancoacui have vertical walls, but some of those of the Chipaya (Posnansky, Figs. 39 and 56) are battened inward, like truncated domes. On islands in the Desaguadero swamps I noticed temporary shelters of *tolora* shaped like an old-fashioned straw beehive with a point, erected to shelter the *balsa*-builders.

326 Food. The Uru have repeatedly been referred to as being chiefly fisher-
 262 men, but fish are by no means exclusively their diet. Their linguistic con-
 331 geners to the south, the Chipaya, are chiefly pastoral, and the Uru likewise have pigs, donkeys, some few chickens, sheep, and cows, but no llamas or alpacas. Of the cows Métraux writes:

those on the border of the Desaguadero [have] become amphibian. They pass the whole day in the water browsing on aquatic plants. From a distance one would take them for buffalo in some Balkan marsh.

[31] These half-wild creatures are so "pastured" because of the acute lack of land among the Uru, whose agriculture,²⁰ for the same reason, is thus greatly circumscribed. The Uru have dogs, which they call *paku*. Like the Aymara, and most *altiplano* Indians, the Uru keep domesticated guinea-pigs in their houses. Pigs wander about the village also, but are sometimes placed in

[342] *Ethnography of South America seen from the Mojos of Bolivia* (Comparative Ethnographic Studies 3, Göteborg, 1924), p. 19; see also Bernabé Cobo, *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, Vol. 2: p. 62; Huaman Poma de Ayala, in Montell, *Dress and Ornaments*, p. 188, Fig. 86 (in Métraux *loc. cit.*).

¹⁹ Posnansky, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 108 and Figures 104, 111.

[13] ²⁰ George McCutchen McBride, *The Agrarian Indian Communities of Highland Bolivia* (American Geographic Society, Research Series 5, New York, 1921), p. 18, says the Uru "form the rare example of a highland Indian tribe which is not markedly attached to the soil, in contrast to the agricultural people that surround them."

231 earthen sties, or mud-and-stone conical huts. I observed no cats at Ancoaqui, though they occur in Aymára villages a day's journey hence.

241 Agriculture is unimportant among the Uru, although they cultivate
262 *kañawa* (or "quinoa," Uru *kula*, a millet-like grain) from which they make
[352] a toasted ground powder they call *pinu*. It is pleasant tasting and is very concentrated and nourishing. They also cultivate a small amount of "papas amargas" or small, bitter potatoes from which they make *tsuni* (Uru *sumi*).

The succulent white roots of the *tolora* reed (*sulu*, *kauri*, or *kuima*) are commonly eaten raw by the Uru. These vegetable products they augment in their trading of fish to the Aymára.

251 *Kañawa* is ground on a stone slanting outward from the woman's lap with a flat stone bar, whence the ground grain collects in a cloth at the far,

273 lower end. The Uru make a beer they call *likša* or *likši*, or *xawinshani* according to Palevecino. Posnansky (page 102) says they sometimes make

[824] *chicha* of masticated maize also; *likši* is made from a plant called *kiwvi* or *kiwi*, which he supposes is aquatic. This same author considers the Uru somewhat more abstemious of alcohol than the Aymára but this is probably

262 less a result of inclination than extreme poverty. This Bolivian student notes also as a food of the Uru "camaroncitos [shrimp] transparentes" (Uru *koykoya*), Amphipods of the group *Hyaella pallida*, *H. robusta*, etc. from two to ten millimeters long, which live in the *tolora* roots. Toasted, these are a rich, nutritious food in times of scarcity, as well as an "estimulante sexual."

296 The Uru chew *coca*, of course, as do all Andean natives, trading their
439 fish for it with the "cholo" or halfbreed tradesmen who bring the narcotic leaf from the *yungas* or deep semi-tropical valleys of the Departamentos of La Paz and Cochabamba.

296 Fishing is the basis of Uru economy, however, as it appears to have been
[433] throughout the period of European knowledge of them. Fishing by moonlight I was told is preferred as the best time. Fish fences, *kenša*, of *tolora*-bundles stuck in the soft mud of the river bottom were observed several times in the Desaguadero. They are of the same type that is used in the swampy shallows of southern Lake Titicaca. Palavecino thus describes their construction:

Each of these [bundles] is made of five or six reeds placed in the same direction and attached by the upper thinner part. They carry these bundles in their *balsas* to the place which appears to them best for fishing and there build their weir. To drive the
[501] bundles of *tolora* into the mud they use the gaff (*okena*) with which they push their boats. [This is a stout pole with a stubby tripod at the base, so that it will catch on roots and water plants and not sink into the soft mud when the boat is poled along (W.Lab.)] The bundle is placed against the gaff, the end of which rests on the liga-

246 native names for so exiguous a number of scientific varieties. These occur in
 136 the species: *O. Cuvieri*, *O. Penlandi*, *O. Humboldti*, *O. Jussieu*, *O. Bairdii*,
O. Ortonnii, *O. frontosus*, and *O. Neveu*. Of the *Trichomycteri* (Aymara *suti*,
mauri; Uru *čisi*) these species are present: *T. dispar* Tschudi, and *T. rivula-*
 192 *lus*. Other native names for fish, which I have been unable to identify
 clearly with the scientific classifications are: (Aymará) *qesi-čauła*, *qesintuu*,
kuri-mauri, *umantá*, *karati*; (Uru) *teri*, *čis*, *čaki*, *ok'ulu*, *čalkiri*, and *wak'luli*
 —whence it appears that the natives give separate names to the male and
 female of the same species.

251 Fish are preserved and prepared in several ways. The smaller kinds
 (*ispi*, *sačala*, *učerčula*), salted and toasted, are carried and eaten dry on
 journeys. The larger varieties (*suti*, *mauri*, *čisi*) are salted, scaled, boned,
 and stretched out between stones in a slow, smoky fire, and thus smoke-
 dried are preserved for periods of scarcity, according to Posnansky. But
 252 what appears to be the same process, described by Palavecino, is evidently
 a method of cooking:

These ovens, which the Uru call *saxaña*, consist in a hole dug in the soil, whose depth,
 equal to the diameter, is about 60 cm. The rounded edge is raised at the surface of
 the ground, and the entire interior is plastered with clay. The Uru light a fire in it
 and introduce more or less flat stones. When the stones are incandescent, they take
 them out, all except those on the bottom. They lay on these a layer of fish, on which
 is placed a second bed of stones, then a layer of fish, and so on until the oven is full.
 It is closed with stones, and covered with reeds. The fish is thus cooked by steaming.

Métraux notes that this is a very ancient type of earth oven in South Amer-
 ica.

223 Hunting is almost as important to the Uru as fishing, neither of which is
 233 basic in Chipaya economy. The river marshes abound with birds of many
 kinds: waterhens (*wesla*, *čokxa*), ducks (*soxna*), geese (*walata*), loons (*pačo*),
 herons (*ačiči*), various diving birds and gulls; a large unidentified black
 bird they call *čiwanku* or *čičinksa*. Other unidentified birds are: *čelita*, *kaču-*
 262 *waina* (*waina* is Aymará for "youth, young man"), *ašowa*, *čorani*. Of these
 aquatic birds, only the "bobo" (*pačo*) is not hunted or eaten, because of its
 rank, oily flesh. Most frequently hunted is a kind of red duck called *p'ana-*
soxna.

The Uru hunt birds by several methods. Posnansky says men hunting
 alone in the early morning disguise themselves in bunches of reeds, slowly
 approach the birds who are still stupefied by the cold of the night, then,
 grabbing them by the feet, they quickly kill the birds by biting the head or
 410 twisting the neck. The Uru are able users of slingshots woven or braided of
 varicolored llama-wools; and they also use *čolas*, made with two large

wooden balls and a small grooved, ovoid stone for the handgrip.²² They have no firearms, nor have they ever possessed them apparently. The bow and arrow is likewise lacking; spears are used only in obtaining fish.

An interesting group-hunt at determined periods employs both men and sometimes women. They stretch in selected sites extensive nets, sometimes hundreds of meters long, for birds whose flight is near the surface of the water; the nets are extended below the surface also, to prevent the escape of diving birds. They anchor the nets to faggots or clumps of *tolora* set in slightly curved lines. Then hunters in their *balsas* make much noise and frighten the birds into the almost invisible nets, where they can despatch them with clubs (*yokema*), and kill with their *bolas* those which attempt to escape. Uru also eat the eggs (*hisi*) of aquatic birds. The flesh of the birds is cut into strips, hung in the sun, and dried into a kind of *charqui* ("jerky," from the Aymará *charki*).

The Uru do little hunting of land animals. Vicuñas (*Auchenia vicuña*; *sakaña*, a word obviously related to Aymará *kaka*, llama) are extremely scarce or absent, as are also guanacos. It is said, however, that in winters of very extreme cold²³ small groups of vicuñas may stray down into the Desaguadero region. The head male of the herd is lassoed, and the others of the herd, immobilized by the cold, are speedily killed. The small rodents of the pampas, like the viscacha (*q'ichai*), apparently are not hunted by the Uru. Most of the birds they kill, like a good proportion of the fish they catch, they take to the villages to trade for other food and necessary articles, since these are their sole source of revenue, beyond their *balsa*-making.

Material Culture. The stalks of the giant reed *tolora* (a *Cyperaceous* plant, *Scirpus tolorá*) are surely the most important substance in Uru material culture: of them they make fish-weirs, supports for bird-nests, roof-mats, floor- and sitting-mats, rafters, doors, *balsa*-boats and their sails; and the few cattle they have browse upon the roots of the *tolora* as well. Unless *balsas* are frequently removed from the water and thoroughly dried, they last scarcely longer than a year or two before rotting. The Uru *balsa*-builders are famous and supply many of their Aymara neighbors with them in the southwestern region of Lake Titicaca. The reeds must first be cut with

²² An Uru *bola* from the Desaguadero is now in the possession of Dr Frank G. Speck, in his private collection at the University of Pennsylvania.

²³ The Aymara have a phrase to designate extreme cold or "bram-monkey" weather: *q'ala* ("stone"), *lakaya* ("to split"), *wari* (vicuña), *q'asaya* ("makes cry"), i.e. weather cold enough to split stones and make the fluffy-wooled vicuña scream. The Aymara schoolboys in La Paz—according to my "cholo" interpreter, the late Moisés Alvarez, who was one of them—have made a very effective football ("futbol") yell of this familiar phrase: *q'ala lakaya wari q'asaya, ura, ura!*